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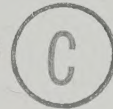


THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

LANGUAGE CHANGE AMONGST A  
GROUP OF JAMAICAN IMMIGRANTS

BY

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A THESIS

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45 percent of the total fossilizations.

## ABSTRACT

It is hoped that such a description can serve as a guide. The main purpose of this thesis is to discuss and study, investigate the language change that has taken place amongst a group of Jamaican female immigrants in Canada.

Such language change is not viewed in isolation but is seen as part of the enculturation process of this particular group. As such it reflects the many social and psychological dimensions of the total environment.

As the symbolic system par excellence language signifies deep cultural meanings and is instrumental in helping to shape the way in which an individual views reality. As such the individual's first language is crucial to his concept of self and of his total being. The Jamaican immigrant therefore reflects in his present language system the socio-cultural dynamics in which his mother tongue developed.

Selinker (1969) proposed the theory of the interlanguage to account for the new language system developed by second language learners. Such a system not only reflects the language-learning strategies that the speaker utilizes but also contains the fossilized forms which are retentions of the native language.

Such fossilizations are evident in the language of the Jamaican immigrant and are reflected in syntactic, lexical and lexical phrasal forms. The main syntactic component is that of the retained creole verb form. This accounts for





45 percent of the total fossilizations.

It is hoped that such a description can serve as a guideline for future program development and language study.





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## CHAPTER 1

### Introduction

Schizophrenic, wrenched by two styles, one a  
    hack's hired prose, I earn my exile.  
I trudge this sickle, moonlit beach for miles,  
Tan, burn  
To slough off  
This love of ocean that's self-love.  
To change your language you must change your life,  
I cannot right old wrongs.

Derek Walcott

As an integral part of culture, literature reflects the major pre-occupations of any group of people as well as representing important cultural trends. Like all other cultural aspects, literature relays messages via the medium of language. When a language has implicit negative connotations for its speakers and listeners these meanings permeate the entire message, its logic, syntax and ultimate interpretation.

This is the situation with the persons studied in this thesis. They aspire to a language closer to the experiences of their colonizers, rather than one which is part of their experiences. When the language used is the language, not of the colonized force, but rather a language imposed by the colonizing force who have obliterated the use of any other language then multifarious dimensions of alienation arise. Derek Walcott succinctly captures the essence of this theme in his analysis of the immigrant experience.





When outside of his homeland the existential dimension of the modern West Indian is one in which there is more than a simple cultural and linguistic jarring or unease, there is, rather, the more complex challenge of a radical psychological transformation. This trauma is expressed by a pun on the word "write". The West Indian writer is always trying to transcend the historical blot that slavery represents - through writing. This is part of the conflict within the intellectual. He cannot rectify (right/write) the wrongs through and by his art. He realizes that such wrongs must indeed be made right through social change. Only then will it be possible for him to "write" in his own "language" and, by extension, produce an art form that will not only aid in undoing the wrongs but will reflect the processes by which this was done.

The subjects of this study are Jamaican immigrants who, unlike their intellectual counterparts, cannot use art as a means of coping with and expressing their particular existential situation. Their experiences will be recorded, not so much in the literature books of the future but rather in the total fabric of the society in which they have integrated. The process of this integration, as it is reflected by and through their language, is of central importance to psychologists and educators - to all concerned with the human condition.





To such an immigrant the late seventies have much significance. It was 1975 that saw the great Canadian debate on the "Green Paper on Immigration", and also the surfacing of sentiments which defined the word "immigrant" not as "one who came to settle" (Oxford Dictionary definition) but as "the non-white one who came intending to settle". The word "intending" is used pointedly to show that such intention is on the part of the immigrant, not on the part of the natives. The latter for the most part viewed such newcomers as people of "novel and distinctive features" (Highlights from the Green Paper on Immigration and Population), who are not regarded as desirable immigrants. The Jamaican immigrant, who by virtue of his racial origins, would be classified within this frame of reference, is a case in point.

Three issues must therefore be recognized and resolved. Firstly, that there is implicit racism in the Green Paper. Secondly, that this fact is part of the dynamics of the Canadian society and as such will compound the problems inherent in the process of integration into the society. Both these issues are the concern of the Canadian social scientist. The third issue concerns the realities of the Jamaican society and how these affect the consciousness of the immigrant from that society. The seventies saw important political and social changes taking place in Jamaica. Such changes have implications not only for those



who remain at home but also for those who venture out. They will determine not only what is said but what can be said and will certainly add to the dynamics that will affect and will be reflected in a language system that is already fraught with complex linguistic and psychological concerns. The immigrant's destiny is therefore determined and controlled by many complex variables.

Writers like Derek Walcott and Gloria Lannaman use their art form to convey the need for conscious awareness of these realities. Both make commentary on the meaning of language to the West Indian.

Each year the local theatre in Jamaica produces a "pantomime" depicting some aspects of the history, folklore and traditions of the Jamaican people. The 1974-75 season saw the production of "Dickance for Fippance" written by Gloria Lannaman, a Jamaican domiciled in the United States of America. In her message to the audiences attending the play Ms. Lannaman writes:

Most of my writing is in the language of the Jamaican people. My language. For what we are talking about is not a dialect (and I don't care what the linguists might say). It IS a language with its own vocabulary, construction and whatever it takes to be recognized as a language. In our frantic search for our heritage, we still externalize - looking for roots from Britain (or whichever metropolis spawned us as colonies) or from Africa or wherever, what we sometimes forget is the tremendous creativity which has issued into our own culture and one important aspect of this is in our language. (Taken from G. Lannaman's message in the programme prepared for "Dickance for Fippance.")





To the casual observer, such an emotional kind of message might appear to be overdone (especially in the seventies) however, an understanding of the social and political history of Jamaica will make such a statement not only very meaningful, but also very timely. Inherent in such a statement is the question of a search for an identity. Like all post colonial societies, Jamaica has this problem. The lack of an identity or the need to search for one is a legacy of the colonial era and of the fact that the present day society descends from imported groups (the Europeans as colonizers, the Africans as slaves and later on the East Indians and Chinese as indentured labourers.) It is not surprising that values of class, color, self, language and identity have been traditionally based on external or comparative norms. Hence language acquisition and usage have always been and may always be affected by these very norms and the conflict and tensions which exist between these historically induced norms will continue to be reflected in what is said and how it is said not only in the people's homeland but also in the countries to which they emigrate.

Taking the two sets of dynamics (those reflected in the Canadian society and those inherent in the Jamaican society) it is not only important but absolutely necessary to examine all aspects of the Jamaican immigrant's development. It is against this background that an analysis of language change amongst this group is of immediate relevance



to psychology.

### Background to the Problem

Church (1971) is of the opinion that we shall not adequately solve the riddle of human behavior until we have come to terms with what he considers the most human of functions - language. In order to come to terms with, or to fully understand the role of language, there is need to observe and analyse many language learning situations. These situations are readily available all over the world.

The economic, social and political dynamics of the modern world have created diverse contexts in which the process of second-language learning can be observed and analysed. These language-learning situations have much relevance to further human development. A full understanding of them will contribute to the development and implementation of effective educational techniques which hopefully will help to resolve some of the major concerns of language contact situations. Some of the unresolved issues related to these situations include: (a) The process of language acquisition (first and second). (b) The effects of and necessity for second language acquisition. (c) The most economical and effective means of teaching a second language.

The main direction of this study is to investigate the still unknown process by which a second language is acquired in the adult. This process will not be analysed in iso-





lation but will be perceived as part of the total interaction of all the factors that are at work in the total development of any individual. The study is to a great extent an investigation of the acculturation process of a group of Jamaican immigrants in Edmonton. Their language is seen as reflecting such a process.

### Purpose of the Study

The acculturation process of any immigrant group offers excellent opportunities for observing the interaction of many social variables. Their language learning process is of particular interest because it reflects the interaction of not only social but also of psychological variables. Weinreich (1953) saw an attractive opportunity for short-term language study in situations where languages were freshly brought into contact through migration (Weinreich, 1953, p.103). Richards (1972) also recognized the potential for useful research in these situations. This potential he sees as not usually fully utilized. He points out that "the linguistic dimensions of immigrant assimilation have tended to arouse interest only in instances of unsuccessful adaptation" (Richards, 1972, p. 160).

To focus on unsuccessful adaptation and to ignore the many factors that are interrelated in the process of either successful or unsuccessful adaptation is to miss a chance of fully understanding, and meaningfully contributing to the course of human development. Such an understanding



will help to alleviate the consequences of maladjustment. In other words a knowledge of any situation will serve as a basis on which to act positively. Lewis (1971) points to the interrelationship of the immigrant's language learning experiences with his total development. She suggests that very few immigrants remain embedded in their native cultures exclusively; the vast majority become culturally heterogeneous and bilingual. Nevertheless they retain some important vestiges of those native cultures, certainly the most important in the short term is 'their' (word added) language (Lewis 1971, p. 25). She further points out that language is an integral part of the manifestation of the immigrant's total personality because language is part of his emotional development which will affect not only his adjustment to society but also his intellectual development.

The Lewis model contains four types of adjustment paths that are open to the immigrant who happens to be bilingual.

(1) The immigrant who is highly conscious of his ethnic group, emotionally secure and quite likely hostile towards others.

(2) The immigrant who is uncertain of his ethnic identification and whose life is marginal on both cultures.

(3) The immigrant who goes out of his way not to be identified with his own group.





(4) The immigrant who succeeds in preserving a stable relationship with both cultures and languages, having defined domains in which both or either is/are relevant. By observing the language behaviour of a group of immigrants one gains an insight into the adjustment paths that are open to these individuals. As has been discussed the Jamaican immigrant (sampled in this study) is placed in a situation where multiple forces (both external and internal) will not only determine but will most definitely limit his options.

The Jamaican immigrant's language is of much significance in the study of language change because such a person demonstrates in his development of a new language system, both the original socio-economic and psychological dynamics affecting his first language acquisition in his home environment, and also the new socio-economic and psychological dynamics related to his immigrant experience in the new environment. This argument is based on the notion that language is an integral part of culture and as such it reflects a long tradition of historical and socio-cultural changes and dynamics. The Jamaican, with his colonial past, must, of necessity, have developed strategies for coping effectively with his environment. Such strategies would continue (though modified) from generation to generation.

The language developed during the age of slavery is



all too often dismissed as merely nonstandard, inadequate and deficient. On the other hand such language must have, of necessity, taken on a certain precision and concreteness so that it could lend itself to the communication of messages which would, at that particular time, be deemed as subversive by the dominant group. This condition existed because of the master and slave relationship. Hence in a society where caste and class would be of great import the slaves would naturally and consciously take on a posture of subservience so that he could be perceived as "dumb". This was a very important survival strategy which soon became a part of the total personality of these people and which later was reflected in their language.

For this reason such language behavior as might be observed at the present time cannot be studied or understood in isolation. It must be seen as part of the historical development of many generations. In reference to this search for understanding, Nettleford (1973) stresses that there is need to understand "the inner dynamics of a society that must consciously or otherwise forge for itself its own frame of reference out of the unruly mass of experience over time and in quite unique circumstances" (Nettleford, 1973, p. 4). Language is part of this frame of reference, and it is with this in mind that the total picture can be painted.





## Overview

The intent of this thesis is to tell a story. It is a story which is aimed at showing the social, linguistic and psychological significance of the very act of using a language system. To this end this Chapter introduces the general problem of language in its social context and how it reflects many of the dynamics of such a context. More specifically it discusses the importance and complexity of the language used by the Jamaican immigrant.

Chapter two reviews the literature on the relationship of language to thought, and by extension the relationship of language to the total development of the human person; the relationship of language to culture, and also the traditional and current ways of analysing the language that came about because of culture contact.

Chapter three describes the historical development and the psychological implications of the Jamaican creole and attempts to integrate these themes with those of Chapter two.

Chapter four deals with the methods of researching and analysing the present language system of a group of Jamaican immigrants.

Chapter five discusses the results and their implications for education and further development.

## Limitations of the Study

Perhaps the most complex aspect of this study lies in



the fact that one is not looking so much at idiolects (the unique dialect of each individual), but perhaps at a much smaller dialectal unit - the individual at a certain period in his life. Because of this it might not be wise to generalize to too wide a population, however the changes within an individual have implications not only for the individual but for the wider society.

The main technical limitation therefore resides not only in the size and selection of the sample but also in the corpus which is quite limited. Using occupation as a measure of achievement is not completely foolproof. This method does not take individual competences sufficiently into account. It is possible that the economic and social stratification of the Jamaican society prevents many potentially able people from achieving very much (as suggested by Bailey, 1966). Some of these people - through a change in their circumstances - develop much later in life. Taylor (1974) has suggested that cognitive development interacts with language learning, therefore it is conceivable that this fact could be the basis of the change in the individual rather than the length of time or the nature of language contact. Related to this is the fact that the creole situation in Jamaica is best viewed along a continuum ranging from what could be considered a pure creole form at one end to the Jamaican Standard form at the other (see Bickerton, 1973). This study cannot ade-





quately control for the points reached by the subjects along such a continuum, however the predictability of the social and psychological variables make up for such shortcomings.

One area which must not be overlooked concerns the kind of rapport that is possible in such an interview situation. Because the people involved had always been made to feel self-conscious about their language and about their social position, it cannot be taken for granted that they will be as spontaneous as is desirable in such situations. The use of an interviewer who is identified with their own culture is more advantageous than using someone who is viewed as a total stranger or an outsider. However it can not be assumed that an ideal interview situation is achieved. The social stratification of the Jamaican society would prevent a situation in which total trust is established. The social distance that maintained between the educated and the uneducated would be the main factor at work in this instance.

The use of transformational type grammar in the description of fossilized items has its shortcoming, in that it cannot adequately describe much of what is displayed in the language texts. However the use of Selinker's model to describe the strategies used by the subjects, can supply valuable information for future program development and remedial language classes.

The method of analysis used can best be categorised as content analysis. This method has certain built in limitations. As Crano and Brewer (1973) have pointed out "in and of itself



this method is not best suited for the testing of hypotheses, since almost invariably alternative operations must be employed in the verification of inferences generated in the content analysis" (Crano and Brewer, 1973, p. 209).

In spite of these inherent limitations I feel that such a study is useful and should be done. Support for this is found in Crano and Brewer's contention that "content analysis is a superb technique for the production of hypothesis, which given the nature of their generation, often prove to be correct. Further, the versatility of this method is such that it can be adapted to almost any type of information which can be reduced to textual form" (Crano and Brewer, 1973, p. 210).

### Definition of Terms

Pidgin: A contact vernacular, normally not the native language of any of its speakers.

Creole: A pidgin becomes a creole when it becomes the first language of its speakers.

Standard English: The language or dialect used for business and education in English speaking countries.

Culture: Patterns of ideas, beliefs, values and knowledge that members of a social group or society have about themselves and their social and physical environments.

Immigrant: One who comes to settle in a country.

Elaborated Code: The elaborated code has a universalistic order of meaning in that principles (why things are done) and operations (how things are done) are made explicit, it is not





tied to its context and makes the speaker capable of detachment and therefore reflexivity.

Restricted Code: A restricted code's order of meaning is "particularistic": principles tend not to be verbalized, remain implicit; meanings are context bound, i.e. closely dependent on the speaker's situation, tending to occur within close relationships and a local social group, who share his attitudes, etc.



## CHAPTER 2

Words are magical in the way they affect the minds of those who use them. They have the power to mold men's thinking, to canalize their feeling, and to direct their willing and acting.

Aldous Huxley

### I. An Analysis of Related Research and Theory

#### The Development of Language and Thought

If words are more than strings of sounds, if they signify deeper meanings and conjure up myriad images for their users and if they do in fact affect the minds of those who use them as Aldous Huxley would have us believe, then an appreciation of the process by which words gain their magic, is essential to a more thorough understanding of human communication. Thus no study of language development can be fully accomplished without an understanding of the symbolic function of the linguistic system and of the relationship of such a function to man's total development. Werner and Kaplan (1967) suggest that probably the main distinction between man and other animals is man's ability to make use of symbols. These are the means by which man comes to "know" his world. They give man a great advantage over other animals who are eternally locked in a "closed system" in which the world is "reacted to" rather than "known".





Symbols offer man his new dimension, his new reality, in fact - the very qualities that make him "human". This potential is inherent in the fact that symbols are representational, thus they can tear man away from the immediate and the concrete and give him the ability to as it were, pull an infinite set of experiences (real and imagined) into focus and make them a part of his "here and now". It is the representational aspect of symbolic forms that distinguish them from mere signals (elicitors which lead an organism to anticipate and react to events in its environment). Such signals are widely utilized not only by man but also by other animals in their adaption to their environment.

Cassirer (1944) points out that domesticated animals, especially the dog, make much use of signals. However, he stresses the fact that such signals are far removed from symbolic activity. This he clearly states in the following:

Symbols - in the proper sense of this term - cannot be reduced to mere signals. Signals and symbols belong to two different universes of discourse: a signal is part of the physical world of being, a symbol is a part of the human world of meaning. Signals ... have a sort of physical or substantial being, symbols have only a functional value. (Cassirer, 1944, p. 35)

Kaplan and Werner further explain the ability of man to utilize symbolic forms as a consequence of the emergence of symbols "primarily from cognitively oriented rather than pragmatically oriented operations" (Werner and Kaplan, 1967, p. 14). The assumption of such a thesis is that



man, as opposed to other animals, is capable of cognitive activity in an extraordinarily developed and sophisticated way.

This capacity results in a combination of symbolic activity and intelligence which is enhanced by man's ability to utilize language which is considered by many social-anthropologists and psychologists (Cassirer (1944) Werner and Kaplan (1967) and Schmidt (1973)) as the "symbolic system par excellence". Both Cassirer and Schmidt attribute this status to language because of its role in pulling together what they consider the "tangled web of human experience" (the symbolic net woven by all the factors contributing to one's experience and total development). Werner and Kaplan propose that "language has become the medium of representation par excellence precisely because its vehicular forms, from the phonemic sound elements to the most complex syntactic structures are built on systematic principles making it possible to reveal within the linguistic domain and the genuinely linguistic devices the connotational structure of the referent" (Werner and Kaplan 1967, p. 16). Thus language more than any other tool at man's command is geared physically and psychologically to symbolize, interpret and shape reality.

The acquisition of language (the supreme symbolic system) enables the human being to extricate himself from his immediate environment and to utilize concepts far removed from himself in the development of a logic which





enables him not only to think constructively but also to transform his environment into a reality that is optimally useful to him. This is not to suggest that language is the only means of this transformation. Myth, religion, mathematics and science are also important symbolic systems, all making use of language. Each of these systems is seen as having its own unique role in the total development of the human being. However, it must be borne in mind that all of these other symbolic systems are quite dependent on natural languages for their explanation, interpretation and often times understanding. They are predicated upon language and are in the words of Lotz (1956) "necessarily parasitic superstructures on natural languages " (Saporta, 1956, p. 14). All these systems are much better appreciated when language is put at their disposal. This is precisely because language is the only symbol system used for what Langer (1951) defines as "discursive purposes".

The process of developing a symbolic system is evidenced in the child's development of speech. The process of this development has proven to be a subject around which much debate has grown and every major school of psychology has its theory of how language is acquired by the individual. Church and Stone (1973) have summarized a pattern of language development which is widely accepted and which is universal in its scope. In this model, the stages of language learning are seen as proceeding from preverbal vocalizing, during which time the infant seems to be



experimenting with the varied and diverse vocal sounds that are at his command. Not only is he able to vocalize the phonemic sounds of his language community but he also makes sounds peculiar to other linguistic communities and absent from his future language. This stage of development is referred to as the babbling stage. This is not a stage of language proper but seems to be common to all human infants in every culture. From this stage, language goes into a "passive" or "receptive" stage in which the child obviously understands some of the things said to him but is unable to vocalize to any extent. Some infants engage in what seems to be pure gibberish for a time while others speak in one word sentences or holo phrases. Following the holo phrastic stage, two classes or words appear - a pivot class and an open class. This is the stage at which the child launches into a process of experimentation and begins to combine words from both classes and test these combinations on the adults with whom he interacts. This stage is not very far from the child's rapid growing mastery of the complex rules and combinations of rules that are part of the linguistic system of the community in which he lives.

The different stages can be interpreted and labelled differently according to one's particular leaning or theoretical orientation. However, one thing is certain about the development of language - language learning is achieved by the child in a process of active participation





with others. Schmidt describes cases of children grown up under conditions of isolation and social deprivation. These conditions have invariably resulted in a deficit in intellectual and linguistic growth. Thus, the social interaction with speaking and affectionate others is of vital importance in the acquisition of the linguistic system. This is not just a system of mere responding, or of grammatic structures, it is instead a system that encapsulates the entire life experiences of a people. This early interaction with adults is crucial to the child's full development. Bain (1974) proposes that "without being conscious of his intentions, the adult directly and indirectly shows, tells, admonishes, rewards and generally educates the child into the implicit understandings of his language group" (Bain, p. 6). Thus, the adult is important not only in nurturing but also in socializing the child, that is, language acquisition is not peripheral but central to the child becoming a fully functioning human being. Thus it is generally felt in psychology that language acquisition is an integrated and integral part of what is considered intellectual activity or cognitive development. In this vital area of man's being, language seems to play a very important role, and it is the process of its complex development that interlocks language with the total experience of the individual and makes it almost synonymous with what is considered one's culture.



In order to appreciate and analyse the role of language in the total development of the personality one must consider the relationship between language, culture and thinking. Such a relationship has been the subject of much investigation and has resulted in both negative and positive ways of interpreting the behavior of diverse groups of people.

### Is Man the Only Thinker?

A definition of the concept thought is vital not only to an adequate discussion of such a relationship but also to the question of whether or not man is the only thinking being. Boyle (1973) defines thinking as the symbolic activity involved in the interval between which an organism is faced with a problem that it cannot immediately solve, and the eventual solving of such a problem. This definition does not imply that problem solving is a purely human attribute. In fact, it is demonstrable that other animals do engage in activities that involve some sort of thinking, even in a very loose sense. This is evidenced by the ability of creatures such as worms to learn to glide in the direction of food in controlled laboratory experiments. Insects also demonstrate remarkably complex behavior, the best example of this being the figure-of-eight dance which indicates the location of honey to an entire hive of bees. Activities of this nature seem to progress as we ascend the phylogenetic scale because mammals not only display





the greatest ability to learn but also generally engage in activities which involve some degree of symbolism. To illustrate this, Boyle describes the Koech's experiment in which rats learned to "make systematic choices in accordance with the differential cues" placed in their environment. Supporting this also is the Premack experiment in which chimpanzees were taught to associate variously coloured poker chips with different fruits. Man is therefore not alone in his problem-solving world. However, his abilities are of a much higher order precisely because he has the power of symbolism inherent in his linguistic system.

### The Role of Language in Thinking

The role of language in the thinking or cognitive process is another area of psychology which has lent itself to much research and to diverse interpretations. Prominent in this area are the works of Bruner (1964), Vygotsky (1962) and Piaget (1959). Bruner suggests that the course of cognitive development is typified by three modes of representation - the enactive, the iconic and the symbolic. He sees a chronological order and an interdependence of all three modes; however he puts the greatest emphasis on the role of the symbolic (language) in the cognitive process. Language is seen not only as a means of representing experience but also as a means by which such experiences are transformed into new and novel realities, thus the internalization of language serves as a



powerful cognitive tool and is crucial to any kind of intellectual activity. The theories of Piaget and Vygotsky are usually closely related in most people's minds. Piaget, on the one hand, proposes that the roots of a child's thought are firmly established in egocentrism - "defined in terms of the child's interpreting the significance of objects primarily with reference to himself, rather than to the wider context of which he later sees himself to be part" (Boyle, p. 25). During this period of egocentric thought or speech "the child talks about himself, takes no interest in his interlocutor, does not try to communicate, expects no answers and often does not care whether anyone listens to him" (Vygotsky, 1962, p. 15). Later on in the child's development, this egocentric speech gives rise to logical thinking and socialized speech.

Vygotsky, on the other hand, proposes that thought and speech have different genetic roots and both develop along different lines independent of each other, until about the age of two, when the two lines of development meet, thought then becomes verbal, and speech becomes rational. Bain (1974) has synthesized these two theories by showing that "both share a structuralistic, dialectic conception of language" but differ on two issues. The first has to do with the role of language in cognitive development. Piaget sees language in more of a "following" role and Vygotsky sees it in more of a "leading" role.





The second issue concerns the relationship of language to cognition. In Piaget's model, language fits into an underlying logical structure, while Vygotsky sees such a structure as arising from language. Bain proposes that these two positions are not mutually exclusive but are quite compatible with and complementary to each other.

### The Relationship of Language to Culture

All of the above mentioned scholars, notwithstanding their individual emphases on the role of language in human development, make it quite clear that the linguistic system is crucial to, and essential in, all of man's activities. They also show that language develops within, and is directed by, the culture in which one is socialized. It is against this background that Bain's work is of greatest significance. He points out that by changing the social structure of a society we also in turn change the language system and this change in the language system results in a change of thought patterns. Therefore, no consideration of thinking or cognitive development can be divorced from a consideration of the relationship of language to culture. Cultural anthropologists and social psychologists have always insisted that there is a very close relationship between the language and what is considered the "culture" of any group of people. Roger Brown (1958) points out that language is nothing less than an "inventory of all the ideas, interests and occu-





pations that take up the attention of the community" (Brown 1967, p. 260), therefore no study or understanding of language can be done independently of a study and understanding of the culture in which that language is used. This is because the language is more than an inventory of lexical items. It reflects an accumulation of the experiences, emotions, aspirations and failings of generations of people. Bain (1974) sees it as the means by which an individual acquires a self. Since by extension, a culture is generated by numbers of such individuals over time, then it is obvious that language is important to the realization of that culture. The empirical study of language as a system divorced from the cultural system is therefore a hoary and insurmountable task. This is not to say that both systems are identical. However, they are so interrelated that it is difficult to separate out the two entities. This is not surprising when we realize that all aspects of a culture are interpreted through and by means of a linguistic system.

It is this linguistic system that not only points out what is significant in a culture but also limits or determines what is indeed significant. This idea is vividly captured by Bain (1974) in the following: "A language is something like a particular fishing net. Just as fishing nets are designed to capture fish of certain size, shape and type, so, too, are languages designed to capture experiences in a certain way" (Bain 1974, p. 58).



Perhaps it will be useful to clarify the concept of culture in order to more fully illustrate the role of language in the concept. The definition of what constitutes "culture" has been part of an ongoing anthropological controversy, and no single definition is all inclusive of what is considered as containing all the cultural aspects of man's existence. Kluckhohn and Kelly (1945) have probably captured and best expressed what can be considered the most modern conception of what is culture when they define it as "all those historically created designs for living, explicit and implicit, rational, irrational and non-rational which exist at any given time as potential guides for the behavior of man".

Hoijer (1954) suggests that such an understanding of culture gives rise to a new conception of the inter-relationship of language to culture. "Language may no longer be conceived as something entirely distinct from other cultural systems but must rather be viewed as part of the whole and functionally related it" (Hoijer, 1954, p. 554).

Perhaps the most fascinating and controversial of the theories relating language to culture and thought, is that which was developed by Benjamin Lee Whorf and referred to in psychological literature as the "Whorfian Hypotheses". Whorf's strongest claim is that language shapes the thought patterns of its habitual users. His hypotheses contain





the propositions of "linguistic relativity", which implies that the world is differently experienced and conceived in different language communities, and of "linguistic determinism" which maintains that language causes the cognitive differences which are associated with the differences in languages. Whorf based most of his arguments on his study of American Indian languages and on his comparison of these with languages which he classified as Standard Average European.

If the Whorfian hypotheses were to be taken literally, it would imply a certain degree of hopelessness in man's existence. This would arise from the fact that speakers of different languages would have no hope of ever fully understanding each other or of even interpreting things in the same way. As Cole and Scribner (1974) point out "extreme forms of linguistic relativity and determinism would have serious implications not only for mankind's study of himself, but for his study of nature as well, because it would close the door to objective knowledge once and for all" (Cole and Scribner, 1974, p. 41). The Whorfian hypotheses have relevance to psychology, not because they are testable, but because they emphasize the important link between the language, the culture and the thought patterns of any group of people. Whorf noticed that the Eskimos had many terms in their language for talking about different types of snow while English users



use one lexical item "snow" to describe all the conditions of this particular phenomenon. If one should take the linguistic determinism hypothesis too literally, then one would be tempted to assume that the English speaker, burdened or limited by his language does not notice the difference in the many kinds of snow. However, this is not the case: the English speaker does recognize differences in texture, dampness and other conditions of snow. Languages differ therefore not in what can be expressed in them, but in what can be most easily expressed, and their inventory of lexical items is an indication of what is considered the most important aspects within a culture.

Perhaps of more relevance to present day psychology and educational practices is a rather weak version of the linguistic determinist thesis of Basil Bernstein (1960) who is the originator of the concepts of the "restricted" and the "elaborated" codes. Although both Whorf and Bernstein are perceived as being close in thought it must be pointed out that the latter based his findings on his observations of language behavior amongst different social classes in Britain. Also it must be borne in mind that whereas Whorf discusses inter-cultural differences, Bernstein is discussing intra-cultural ones. In his model Bernstein would have us believe that the elaborated code is the usual mode of communication of the middle class. This code is characterized by its ability to generate





universalistic meanings freed from the context in which it is spoken and therefore understandable by all. The restricted code of the working class, on the other hand is seen as generating context bound particularistic means, which do not lend themselves to being fully understood by others. Bernstein suggests that the socializing processes of these respective social classes "generates a particular form of communication which will shape the intellectual, social and affective orientation of the children".

#### Relevance to Educational Practices

The belief that the lack of a particular type of language or dialect is the basis for what is interpreted as cognitive deficits has prompted the establishment of many language-based tutorial and enrichment programs all over the world but especially in the United States. These programs have not always accomplished that which they were designed to accomplish (cultural enrichment and cognitive development as defined by the educational system) however, they continue to be implemented because of the belief that language plays an important role in the development of the intellect. However, it is not just a language or dialect - it is a particular one (usually the standard as it is defined and used by the middle class of that society).

Dennis Craig (1974) has done some quite meaningful and positive work in the study of the relationship of class specific dialects to cognitive abilities, and more





specifically of the relationship of creole speaking to school performance. To date he is the one scholar who has sought to find a meaningful and coherent argument aimed at explaining the differences inherent in class specific dialects. He points out that value judgements are placed on different social class dialects. Such judgements are based on the fact that language characteristics usually correlate with what is generally considered "measured intelligence". That is to say that people who have a greater facility with the standard dialect generally do much better at tests designed to determine abilities and levels of achievement. Such results cannot serve as the basis on which to accept programs designed to a language deficit model. The many social variables at work in any class based society and the fact that school systems almost always reflect the values and aspirations of the middle class cannot be ignored.

As has been pointed out the value judgements are used as the basis on which most of the related school programs (already mentioned) have been implemented. For political and economical reasons the United States of America have been the leaders in these kinds of programs. Here, the historically oppressed Black minority have developed a language or dialect of their own. Such a dialect has moved from the status of "substandard" to the more acceptable "nonstandard". However, the use of a different



terminology does not obscure the fact that both terms have a negative connotation in popular use. Such a connotation is extended to the concept of "compensatory education" for the "language deprived" and the "culturally handicapped".

Craig (1974) has joined the voices that have challenged such judgements by proposing a theory of differing "communication formats" based on early and late lexification. "Early lexification is characterized by larger quantities of, though transformationally simpler, lexical and syntactic tokens within a given period of time. Thus such lexification would produce a smaller proportion of lexical and syntactic types despite its larger quantity of tokens" (Craig, 1974, p.10). Late lexification on the other hand, is "characterized by smaller quantities of, though transformationally more complex lexical and syntactic tokens" (Craig, 1974, p.10). In other words, early lexification demonstrate less complexity of thought while late lexification demonstrate more complex thought (as reflected in the language structures being used).

These findings are based on a study in which Craig used three groups of Jamaican school children differentiated both by social class and also by the fact that the lower socio-economic groups spoke the Jamaican Creole while the others spoke a dialect closer to Standard English than to the Creole. With the use of tape recordings of the informal conversations of these different groups Craig





came to the conclusion that no one "format is in absolute terms more valuable than the other" despite some specializations which he noticed in each. He summed up his findings thus:

The early lexification format is probably conducive to a vigour, vividness and directness of expression not as easily achievable in the relatively late lexification format; were it not that literacy and the acquisition of a late lexification format go together (because of the conventional way in which school education is carried out) the lower-social language-culture would probably be more prolific in creative literature (Craig, 1974, p. 15).

However, late lexification (the outcome of formal education and literacy) is the communication format to which school education is geared. Thus the child from the lower socio-economic groups - with less access to the culture generated by formal education and generations of literacy - are not only viewed as "disadvantaged" or "handicapped" but act as if they are inherently so.

Too often education programs are based on erroneous assumptions. Craig's main thrust is that he forces us to realize that the lack of complex grammatical structures is not necessarily a basis on which to assume the lack of complex thought. It is of vital importance to educational practices that educators do not make the mistake of believing that overt language behavior is a strong enough basis on which to formulate theories of cognitive development. This can prove to be extremely erroneous and often times highly dysfunctional, because such beliefs are based on



much misunderstanding and misinformation. Sometimes even the most restricted verbal behavior is calculatedly used to give deep cultural cues and to express subtle psychological meanings that evade all but those who fully understand the culture. This idea is given full discussion by Kochman (1969) in his analysis of the use of "rapping", "shucking", "jiving", "running it down", "gripping", "copping a plea", "signifying" and "sounding" in the ghettos of the United States. He maintains that these different ways of expressing oneself

are all part of the black ghetto idiom and describe different kinds of talking. Each has its own distinguishing features of form, style and function; each is influenced by, and influences, the speaker, setting and audience; and each sheds light on the black perspective and the black condition - on those orienting values and attitudes that will cause a speaker to speak or perform in his own way within the social context of the black community (Samovar and Porter, 1972, p. 141).

A linguistic description of any of these forms of speech would reveal a vocabulary that is quite limited and syntactic structures that are often times unrelated to any used in the standard dialect of the United States. However, more important than linguistic manifestations is the fact that such speech styles have been developed in a context in which there was need for people to find a way of coping with racial discrimination, violence and all the related evils of the times in which they lived. The fact that they have survived is a testament to the usefulness and meaningfulness of such language styles.





Related Views of Language Contact Situations -  
The Notion of Errors

Besides the misunderstandings of the deep cultural meanings that are manifested in language there are also other vital areas in which there have been inadequate analysis. These have caused much waste in many areas. For instance most educational programs and traditional attitudes have been based on the notion that the second language learner (adult or child) fails to produce the target language because of certain structural areas of difficulty. Thus the learner's language was viewed as containing certain "errors" which had to be dealt with - usually in isolation from other parts of the speech, through pattern drills and related exercises. Sampson and Richards (1973) have pointed out that this notion has directed language researchers and scholars into the field of "error analysis" as a method of describing and evaluating the process of second language acquisition. However, more recent research into the field suggests that errors alone are of little interest or significance in the process of language learning. A more appropriate and rewarding analysis is one based on the findings which suggest that rather than looking at "errors" per se, one should consider the learner's entire linguistic system, "errors" and "non-errors" alike (Corder (1971), Richards (1971), Scott and Tucker (1974), Dulay and Burt (1972)).

Hammarberg (1974) also supports this latter line of





thinking because he sees "error analysis" as concerned too much with errors and not enough with the learner's successful treatment of the target language. In an effort to find more of a "middle" position, Zydati<sup>β</sup> (1974) tries to give what he cleverly describes as a "kiss of life" to the notion of errors. He advocates that rather than the wholesale dismissal of "error analysis" as a useful method of researching second-language learning, we should differentiate between two distinct approaches to a language learner's language. These are: (1) The psycholinguistically oriented approach in which the concept of error is not relevant. (2) The pedagogically oriented approach, which is an investigation of the second-language learner's interlanguage and in which the notion of error is very relevant. The first approach is related to a prescriptive linguistic model while the second is a model in which the learner's language is described and analysed.

This ongoing discussion of what is or is not erroneous in the speech of a second-language learner has resulted in a theory of a new and unique language system, labelled differently by different theorists but having the same basic concept - whatever the label. Such a system has been variously called an "idiosyncratic dialect" (Corder, 1971), an "approximative system" (Nemser 1971), "language learner systems" (Sampson and Richards 1973) and an "interlanguage" (Selinker, 1969).



Basically, each of these scholars is describing the product of the same process but each has his or her own particular bias. For instance, Zydati<sup>β</sup> (1974) points out that Corder's use of the word "idiosyncratic" has an element of value judgement inherent in it. Therefore he finds Selinker's term "interlanguage" more neutral, thus more acceptable. The same criticism is probably valid when applied to Nemser's use of the term "approximative".

The idea of an interlanguage has been developed to describe the language system of an individual who is attempting to learn a second language or dialect. Schumann (1974) describes each point along this language learning continuum as "a systematic attempt to deal with the target language data" (Schumann, 1974, p. 145) and the utterances that are manifested are not seen as mistakes but as part of a new and genuine linguistic system to be studied in and of itself.

#### The Relationship between Child and Adult Language Learning Processes

Schumann (1974) draws a parallel between this process of second language acquisition and that of a child attempting to learn his first language. The child is seen as gradually learning the deep structure of his first language and using this information to produce novel and varied utterances. During this process the child develops and tests certain hypotheses in order to strengthen and expand





his linguistic competence. If the parallel between first and second language acquisition is accurate, then the observation and description of any one of these processes will contribute useful information towards a theory of language learning.

Furthermore, if the analogy between first and second language acquisition is a valid one then any information about language learning in an informal setting has the potential of shedding light not only on how languages are learned but also on the variables that account for the differences between the child and the adult learner. Thus the study of immigrant language learning strategies can shed light on what goes on in such learning situations.

Ervin-Tripp (1974) supports the view that the adult and child language learning processes are analogous. She concludes that in the second-language learner the functions of early sentences - their form, semantic redundancy, reliance on the use of short term memory, overgeneralization of lexical forms and their use of simple order strategies are all similar to the processes observed in first language acquisition.

Cook (1973) sees a problem in such a comparison. He postulates that some differences are not a question of language, but could be related to general mental development which came through the maturation process. He sees a possible link between the rate of language acquisition



and overall cognitive development.

Supportive of Cook's stand is that of Holley and King (1971) who also see a certain fallacy in equating the two processes. They argue that, unlike the second language learner (adult), the child has a great deal of freedom to make mistakes in his development towards the adult norm. The adult has no such freedom. Cook (1969) supports this line of argument and points out that errors are an integral part of the first language learning process and are not viewed as detrimental. This however, is not the case with the adult second-language learner. He is not allowed to make mistakes. Thus it can be argued that the child has an advantage in this area.

Lennenberg (1967) and Scovel (1969) have proposed a biological basis for the differences exhibited between the processes of language acquisition in the child and in the adult. Scovel argues that the fact that children master a second language without an accent and adults do not is not a distinction between child and adult language learning as it is a distinction between first and second language acquisition. He suggests that this difference is a function of cerebral dominance or lateralization. "It seems apparent that the inability of adults to master a language without a foreign accent after the age of about twelve is directly related to the fact that lateralization has become permanent (Scovel 1969, p. 252). Thus "it is nature and not nurture that determines our ability to





speak without a foreign accent" (Scovel, 1969, p. 249).

This biological explanation has been seriously questioned by Hill (1970) and by Taylor (1974). Hill argues that the nativist explanation of a foreign accent retention in adults is perhaps not universal because a few adults can learn a second language well enough that there is no distinction between them and native speakers, while others retain noticeably non-native features of pronunciation even after years of speaking the second language (Scovel, 1969, p. 238). Taylor supports Hill's contention and points out that further research has indicated cases in which first language is acquired after puberty, and also that adults can learn a second language well.

Taylor (1974) says that first and second language learners (children vs. adults) differ because of the following: (a) method of learning (instructional vs. natural setting), (b) the adult's more advanced cognitive maturity. He suggests that the two most important variables in first and second language learning are the presence of the native language and the more advanced cognitive development of the adult. These he sees as affecting the learning processes only in a quantitative way and resulting in the second-language learner having an edge over the first-language learner. Qualitatively however, first and second language learning, are identical processes in Taylor's framework because they use the same learning





strategies. These are evidenced in the types of errors made in both processes.

Selinker's (1969) notion of the interlanguage is useful in that it not only neutralizes the debate on the error versus non-error stance but it also provides a suitable framework in which to observe and analyse the language system of the second-language learner. Although it does not specifically support or deny the analogy between first and second language acquisition it provides a link between both positions by the proposal of the five central language learning strategies. These five central processes exist in the latent psychological process and are central to second language learning. They are:

- (1) language transfer
- (2) transfer of training
- (3) strategies of second language learning
- (4) strategies of second language communication
- (5) overgeneralization of the target language  
linguistic material

Central to the model of the interlanguage are the fossilized forms which are the so-called "errors" mentioned earlier.

Richards (1972) shows how the process of the interlanguage can be clarified by the factors affecting language learning in immigrant language learning situations, in indigenous minority varieties of English, in pidgin and creole settings and in areas where English is being learned



as a second language. Thus, the concept has wide applicability.

Of greatest interest to this thesis is the idea of fossilizations in the learner's interlanguage. These "fossils" are the "errors" that have been analysed by the method of "error analysis". These fossils are seen as an integral part of the language system that has been developed by the second-language-learner. In this model the native language is not viewed as a barrier to communication, but as a reference system from which to draw linguistic structures when the required ones of the target language are not yet fully learned or ignored.

The different areas reviewed, namely: the relationship of language to culture and thought, the traditional and more recent ways of analysing the language behavior of second language learners and the relevance of these to educational practices, all have an important place in the total picture that needs to be created in any language contact situation. These issues are also important in the clarification and understanding of the total context in which the subjects of this study, operate. It is important to establish a relationship between the process and the product in any learning situation in order to show the interrelationship of the many variables that are at work in any given situation. Thus the stage is set for us to describe and analyse the context in which the subjects





learnt their native tongue and to appreciate the dynamics that are at work in the target language environment.



## CHAPTER 3

Language makes it possible for men to build up  
the social heritage of accumulated skill,  
knowledge and wisdom.

Aldous Huxley

### Creoles and Pidgins

Chapter 2 discusses the relationship between language, culture and thought, and shows that language is not developed in isolation from the forces that are at work in the society. Aldous Huxley suggests, in the above quotation, that language makes it possible for man to create a culture. By the same token the culture makes it possible for the language to develop and to become meaningful. Because of this fact, it is necessary to appreciate the total environment in which a language developed in order to understand the meanings that are inherent in such a language. Thus no meaningful discussion of the language learning process of Jamaican immigrants can be done, without an understanding of the development of their first language.

### Historical Development

Weinrich (1953) has suggested that whenever two languages come into contact, there is inevitably a certain amount of linguistic change noticeable either in both language systems or in one. These changes are evidenced



on two levels - the physical and the psychological. On the physical level, the areas and degree of change can be gleaned from the phonological, the syntactical and the lexical components of the languages under investigation. On the psychological level, it is more difficult to measure the degree and quality of the contact and change, nevertheless, a fairly good indication of these aspects of the contact situation is usually reflected in the use, style and vocabulary items of the languages in use. Weinrich further points out that language contact is considered but one aspect of culture contact and that any change can be seen as evidence of "cultural diffusion and acculturation".

Rarely have cultures come together without some amount of social or political pressure being exerted from one side, therefore it is unlikely that language would not always be affected by these contacts. Halliday (1968) sees language contact situations as those in which one language community impinges on another. "Such situations are characterized by varying degrees of bilingualism" (Fishman, 1969, p. 141). The extent and persistence of such bilingualism will be dependent on many factors including attitudes towards both languages, the degree of social interaction between the groups and also the goals and aspirations of all the individuals within the society.

The language contact situation that is of interest to this thesis is that which evolved out of nearly five hundred





years of contact between colonizers from various European countries - England, France, Spain, Holland and Portugal and colonized from Africa, India and China. The scene of this contact is the Caribbean where the coming together of colonized and colonizer gave rise to the development of various Creoles. As has been mentioned earlier, this resultant language type and the problems connected with it form but one dimension of the contact in this particular situation. This situation is perhaps unique in that it evolved in a culture generated by the peculiar institution of slavery in a complex and exploitative economic system based on the production of sugar. This particular crop - its production and historical importance - generated a social structure that has had many far reaching effects. As Eric Williams (1970) aptly points out - sugar has made many formidable contributions to contemporary Caribbean psychology, the least of which is not the language situation that developed from the contact between peoples of differing linguistic groups.

The historical period which opened the Caribbean to European involvement started in the fifteenth century with the celebrated "discoveries" of Christopher Columbus and the Spaniards. The advent of these Europeans saw the dawning of a historical period which gave rise to a new culture and also to new forms of languages which conceivably developed from pidgins and trade jargons.



The origins of pidgins and creoles are somewhat unclear and there are varying theories about the process. Hall (1966) sees pidgins and creoles as the most recent innovations in the history of human language. These have resulted from the more recent and more advanced methods of communication and transportation. As more diverse people come into contact with each other, their languages change or become modified by taking on additional features. Hall's thesis suggests that the propagation of pidgin languages accelerated because of the contact between Europeans and the colonized people during the age of empire building, starting in the fifteenth century. Hall believes that the European with his superior and rather ethnocentric attitudes did not think that the colonized peoples had the mental capacity to learn and use European tongues. For this reason, he spoke to the "natives" in a rather simplified and reduced version of whatever European language that he spoke. "The European would conclude that it was useless to use 'good language' to the native and would reply to him in a replica of the latter's incomplete speech, adding also some of the patterns of baby-talk commonly used by mothers and nurses in his own country. The aboriginal not knowing any better would assume that this was the white man's real language and would delight in using it" (Hall, 1966, p. 5). Into this pidgin would be carried over patterns of speech, intonation, grammatical structures and vocabulary





items which were part of the natives' mother tongue.

DeCamp (1968) refers to this view as the "baby-talk theory" and points out that not only is it too simplistic but it is easily refuted. This he sums up thus:

The typological similarities shared by creole French, English, Spanish, etc. are too great for coincidence and when we consider that these creoles also share many common features the baby talk hypothesis completely collapses (Hymes, 1971, p. 19).

Alleyne (1968) does not believe that there is any linguistic evidence to support the notion of simplification. He suggests that the traditional conception of the processes of pidginization and creolization is not adequate for the description of these particular linguistic phenomena. Rather than belabouring this particular line, Alleyne suggests that we would benefit more by looking for the answer "within the framework of language change as merely one aspect of culture change arising out of culture contact" (Hymes, 1971, p.175).

Both Hall's and Alleyne's views are not seen as mutually exclusive, rather they both can be seen as interrelated and crucial to each other. One can be seen as stressing the linguistic aspect of the language contact and the other as stressing the psycho-social aspect of the same thinking. It is the interrelation of both views that is of interest to this thesis. It is within this framework that the developmental process of creoles will be analysed.

Both pidgins and creoles are seen as two phases of the same linguistic process. Pidgins with their limited



vocabularies, reduced grammatical structures and loss of redundant features are contact vernaculars not native to any of its speakers. When such pidgins become the first language of a particular group of people, they are then considered to be creoles. Today, varieties of creoles are spoken by millions of people in the Carribean, in South Africa, West Africa, Hong Kong, India and Melanesia. Related to these are the dialects of the Blacks in the United States of America. All these languages developed against a similar historical background of contact between colonizer and colonized.

Most creoles are European based and derived most of their vocabulary from these languages; however, in both the phonological and syntactic areas, the difference between the creoles and the European language with which it is connected is so great that the languages are usually mutually unintelligible. Creoles are therefore not dialects of European languages. They are "genuine languages in their own right not just macaronic blends or interlingual corruptions of standard languages" (Hymes, 1971, p. 15).

There is a general tendency in the creole literature to stress the view that creoles evolved from a process of simplification and loss of certain grammatical features, however it is necessary to keep in mind the fact that such languages are very adequate as the communicative vehicles of their users, and that the superficially apparent loss





of structural features does not imply a lack of proper understanding of the things that are vital to survival within any given speech community. We can see "all creoles as 'regular' in that each has its own pattern of distinctive units of sound, its own grammatical signs and conventions and a vocabulary adequate for the cultural demands of its native speakers" (Taylor, p. 609). Such languages are therefore not inferior to the standard ones because of structural deficit, however, because of the social status with which they are accorded historically they are usually considered as such by the dominant groups within the societies in which they develop.

A Creole is only an extreme result of a normal phenomenon: linguistic borrowing. There is no reason why a language with such a history should be less effective than any other. They are languages in the defined sense of the word.... At present, they tend to be more discriminated against than languages with a more conventional history. But there is no justification for discrimination against any language whatever. (Fishman, 1968, p. 161)

The myriad historical roots of the people of the Caribbean are probably not as clearly manifested in any other aspect of their life as they are in the linguistic diversity of the region. In every territory, there are variations of the official standard language used by a minority, and the nonstandard form used by the large majority of the population. Stewart (1962) divides the population of the Caribbean into three categories:





(1) Monolingual Creole speakers consisting mainly of the native inhabitants with very little or no formal education.

(2) Monolingual Standard speakers consisting mostly of expatriates, administrators, high churchmen and a very small group of the local "upper crust".

(3) Bilinguals - those who have a working knowledge of both the Creole and the Standard.

These bilinguals are usually native inhabitants who have learnt the standard either through exposure in their homes or in the schools. This particular group switches from code to code in accordance to the demands of the occasion. The monolingual Creole speakers are usually more rural than urban precisely because urban people are more exposed to situations in which both languages are frequently heard.

Stewart's categories are useful if one wishes to use a more or less clear-cut model for interpretation or analysis of the language act; however, a more accurate view of the language situation in the Caribbean territories, is to be found in a model which puts the languages along a continuum ranging from one endpoint of an almost pure Creole form to another endpoint at which the standard form is fully developed. This is usually the case when situations contain dialects that are closely related in most if not all of the linguistic domains. Bickerton (1973) explains



the development of the creole continuum thus:

The creole continuum owes its existence to the fact that after emancipation, the social, political and economic barriers between whites and non-whites were gradually but progressively weakened.... In consequence, a slowly increasing segment of the creole-speaking population was provided with both opportunity and motivation to modify its linguistic behavior in the direction of the approved variety. Not all, of course, respond equally. Some rejecting ... the super-ordinate culture set up cross currents that slowed up the over-all evolution of the system (Bickerton, 1973, p. 644).

What needs to be elaborated on is the fact that this "slowly increasing segment" is the evolving middle class which has the idea (based on the realities of the situation) that the closer one gets to the standard end of the continuum, the closer one gets to enjoying a fuller and richer life. By the same token, a rejection of or an inability to follow such a path is an invitation to an existence of deprivation and a relegation to an inferior status. The fact that the majority of people would not have the opportunity to advance very far along this linguistic continuum attests to the fact that the majority of people of these regions are hampered in many of the major areas of their lives. This is so because the use of the standard dialect is a prerequisite to gaining the necessary educational tools that are required for any degree of upward social mobility. Such mobility is the goal of everyone who lives in class based societies, where even the basic necessities of life are allocated according to one's station in life.





## The Language Problem of the Jamaican Immigrant

The focus of this thesis will be on language change amongst a group of Jamaican immigrants. This particular focus does not imply that the findings concerning areas of learning difficulties, language change and attitudes will be different from those of other West Indians. It has already been shown that all the territories in general share many things, - the same historical roots, similarities in cultures, the same economic standards and generally a common desire to come into their own, free from many of the psychological shackles of the colonial era.

When in 1492 Jamaica was "discovered", the indigenous inhabitants were the hunting and gathering Arawak Indians. The advent of the Spaniards quickly eliminated this particular group and set the stage for the British "capture" of the island in 1655 - a year which saw the beginning of a plantation economy based on imported slave labour. This is the situation in which British slave masters speaking a "more or less standard English dialect" came into contact with thousands of slaves speaking various African languages and dialects. This contact gave rise to a pidgin which eventually resulted in the present day Jamaican creole.

This creole, like others in the Caribbean, has evolved in a rather unique and complex historical context - one which causes it to be perhaps more of an emotional issue than is normal for most languages. Jamaicans of whatever



social class or educational background, must from time to time face situations in which the question of the creole is very relevant.

The social structure which evolved out of the colonial experience rendered the exclusive use of Creoles a retarding factor in the user's total development. Bailey (1966) describes the process by which the use of Creole became dysfunctional for its users thus:

In most of these countries the education system operates in the medium of the language of the colonial power ... but the great mass of the population in their homes speak creole of one kind or another. The creole languages have in the past been despised as 'broken talk' ... The children from poorer homes have therefore made little progress ... and the talents of clever children from poorer homes have thus often been wasted (Bailey, p. v).

With reference to the Jamaican situation Bailey writes - "it is commonplace to mention the role of language as a social denomination in any stratified society, but when, as in Jamaica, good breeding and a sound education invariably result in the renunciation of creolized speech, language tends to extend its domain and to become the indicator of the level of one's intelligence as well ... and the retention of Creole speech might well spell disaster for the adherent" (Bailey, p.2).

In Jamaica, as in all other West Indian islands, class stratifications are very strong, important and obvious. Similarly, distinctions based on nuances of color or precise racial ancestry (e.g. East Indian vs. African





vs. Portuguese vs. a mixture of these with different European elements) are very important in defining class position and class acceptance. Also important in such definitions are language usage as Bailey has pointed out, since the closer to the standard language (or "norm") and the less dialectically a person speaks, the more he gains in terms of class acceptance. Therefore, the language problem in these areas is compounded by the fact that the process of creolization came about under social conditions which relegated creoles not only to a particular socio-economic group, but also to a largely black racial type.

#### The Psycho-social Consequences of a Creole Continuum

As in all contact situations, the individual is the focus of attention. It is he who will ultimately reflect, in a more detailed and interesting way, the total changes that take place in the society in which he lives. In the case of the Jamaican immigrant, it is not too farfetched to postulate that the historical process which molded his self, identity and total development, will not only be part of his total personality but will be reflected to a great extent not only in what he says but in what he is capable of saying, this capability being seen on both the linguistic as well as on the psychological level. It is indeed the psychological manifestations of the total language experience that will be the most crucial and pervasive aspect of the contribution that such an immigrant will





eventually make to the society in which he finds himself.

The question which needs to be answered therefore will direct itself to the psychological consequences of development within a society with the kinds of reality that have been discussed so far.

Grotjahn (1957) points out that the creative process in any individual involves a confrontation with the repressed conflicts within that individual; these conflicts must be confronted, transcended and rationalized to produce a universality which can then be offered to the public. This point not only clarifies but also magnifies the point that was made in Chapter One.

The historical development of colonialism and the realities of a post colonial environment cause a further complication to the individual's inner conflict. This is related to the fact that all the socio-cultural norms have been externally imposed without reference to the individual's own reality. Thus as Craig (1974) points out - it is the extent to which the creative individual can reject these norms (and thereby transcend these inner socio-culturally related conflicts) that he will, in fact, meet the challenge of "creativity" within himself and in the outer world.

This debilitating process saps the energy and limits the potential of all people connected with it. Thus Depestre (1973) contends that the West Indian intellectual, and more specifically, the writer, is preoccupied with the



"idea of coming to terms with himself". This dilemma is created by a split which he (Depestre) attributes to the total colonial experience. In order to resolve this conflict, the typical West Indian writer uses a unique strategy. Through the vehicle of a European language (English, Spanish, French etc.) he, as it were, re-interprets the West through an African mentality. This can be interpreted as an "escape valve" from the bondage experienced by a people robbed of their "creative energy", "past history and psychological integrity". Even the intellectuals have not fully escaped the bondage because there are still areas of their lives which seem to evade the "escape". These are the areas affected greatly by language, not in a direct but in an indirect and almost subtle way. This argument Depestre sums up in the following:

The general escape has not been equally effective in all areas of life. The West Indian Negro has not been able to reject the master's language, although in some cases, as the existence of Creole in Haiti, Guadeloupe and Martinique proves, the linguistic escape has been crowned with success. As is well known, language is an important element in the identity of any man. For us to be fully ourselves it would be necessary to think and create in languages that are Haitian, Martinician, Jamaican, Barbadian and so on, which would be able to give us a more accurate image of ourselves than that which we have when using instruments such as French, English or Spanish, thinking apparatus which by force of acculturation, we had to add to our experience and which we must always conquer to our own advantage and risk to express our identity. (Depestre, 1973, p. 53)

Thus the very use of language in such societies becomes almost a traumatic experience. No wonder Depestre calls





slavery a "process of cossificacion" whereby a man is converted into a thing and because of which the aware West Indian cannot help but identify with this lament:

Having robbed me of my creative energy, I was robbed of my past, my history, my psychological integrity, my legends and my most secret beauties as a human being. Subsequently when slavery had already been abolished I was still kept ... at the point where it was impossible to work out a synthesis of the different African and European components of my culture. By means of a frightening acculturative pressure, everything was done to make the African substratum of my life appear unworthy of the human race. (Depestre, 1973, p. 52)

The wider implication for language usage and for its users is that for this particular group of people, the use of language - whatever form (creole or the Standard variety) has the potential of resulting in a sort of schizoid reality.

Fanon (1967) like Depestre, is concerned with the deeper but less obvious implication that language has in the life of the West Indian person in particular and by extension - in the life of any colonized people. Fanon also directs his attention to the question of whether the use of a European language creates a conflict within the predominantly black slave-descended peoples of the West Indies. He maintains that "every people in whose soul an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its local cultural originality finds itself face to face with the language of the civilizing nation; that is, with the culture of the mother country: (Fanon, 1967,



p. 18). This culture is held in high esteem by all its users and it automatically negates any other; thus the original "roots" of the colonized is either debased or eradicated. To replace this, the colonized must strive to absorb the language of the colonizer. It is this process of absorption that results in the conflict within such a person. He realizes that the closer he gets to the "proper" pronunciation and the "proper" grammar of the target language, the closer he gets to becoming an "acceptable" human being. This process of becoming is not only to aid his self concept but also to help in the death and burial of the stereotype which the colonizer has attached to him. This stereotype is usually not left behind when he leaves his native land. Thus Fanon sees such a person taking great pains with his speech because this speech is one dimension by which he is judged.

The psychological consequences of such a language situation might have been less complex if the only dimension to be dealt with was the process by which such stereotypes can be erased. However, this is not the case. The typical native of this situation has the added dilemma of dealing with others within his own culture. Even though it is understood that to know and use the Standard form is to be upwardly mobile yet there is a subconscious resistance to the use of this form amongst the masses of the people. This is part of what has already been described as the





schizoid reality of these situations. The individual who has mastered the Standard Language and who expresses himself well "is inordinately feared ... he is almost white" (Fanon, 1967, p. 21). This implies that not only is this dialect related to a particular social class but also to a particular racial type. This seems to be characteristic of the entire Caribbean region and has its origins in the historical roots of slavery. Such an institution bred deep seated distrust of, and often antagonism against the different groups involved. The native who changes to the Standard in his everyday speech is "talking like a white man" if he is Martinician; indulging in "White Talk" if he is a Trinidadian and "speaking" if he is a Jamaican.

In the case of the Jamaican it is interesting to note that no longer does such a person "talk". "Talking" is then too ordinary and usually too degrading. One must indeed "Speak" for "To Speak" is "To become". "Speaking" is more than just the use of the correct syntactic form. It is a certain posture, a certain change in the phonological system - a desperate attempt to sound different. The foreign "accent" is then very important. It is not enough to be oneself or to sound authentically Jamaican. One must search for some other identity, some other link. Inherent in this search is the idea that anything indigenous is not as good as that which is imported. Such an attitude extends to most areas of life - language, all consumer goods, peoples, ideologies and values.





Part of the local "joke culture" of Jamaica contains numerous stories of people who had left the island for very short periods of time to do "farm work" or other such types of jobs in the United States or Canada. Such people are depicted as returning with such a slicing foreign accent that it is very difficult for anyone to understand what they intend to say. The story is told of one such person who not only acquired this accent but also seemed to have suffered from some degree of amnesia, in that he could no longer remember the name of the most common and useful of food staples (the breadfruit). His mother was quite upset about this, - and knowing that this was another case of the "returning foreigner who could no longer afford to identify with his humble roots" decided against offering him any of the "forgotten food". After a while the hunger pangs became so great that the amnesia soon disappeared, and the young man, in the most authentic Jamaican dialect, asked humbly for a piece of the breadfruit.

This pathetic "joker" is typical of the lower class and uneducated mentality. For him the accent (phonological component) is the most important feature of language. He is less conscious of grammatical structures. He is quite happy to use the most bizarre structures (unconsciously) but with a certain tone, a certain intonation pattern and a general distortion of the vowel system. This is enough to set him off from the "ordinary" man - the one who has



not travelled; the one who has not had a chance of hearing "good language".

The middle class or the educated person on the other hand is very careful with his grammar. He has been given the prescribed form in schools and oftentimes in the home. He is therefore more concerned with the syntactic component of language. If he is to opt for a foreign accent he would rather adapt the "Oxford accent" than that of the "Yankee" or the Canadian. It is not unusual to come across many such persons who are more "English than the English" even though they acquired their post high school education in the United States or in Canada, and had never set foot on English soil.

Such a desire to sound like someone else attests not only to the fact that others are seen in a very positive light but that the Jamaican sees himself negatively.

Miller 1971 substantiates this by pointing out that:

The phenomena of slavery, British Colonialism and acceptance of a British social philosophy have so shaped the social structure and climate and general frame of reference within which Jamaicans perceive and conceive reality that we have been socialized to evaluate worth in a habitually negative way. (Miller, 1971, p. 109)

Incidents and stories such as the ones described point to the fact that such an outwardly oriented people must of necessity have deep seated conflicts especially when they have no choice but to look outwardly to a culture that has always dehumanized them. Fanon contends that to speak is





to "assume a culture, to maintain the weight of a civilization" thus "a man who has a language consequently possesses the world expressed and implied by that language" (Fanon, 1967, p. 18).

The West Indian dilemma is that he usually possesses the language of a civilization that has historically denied him the rights to be a human being. He realizes that one of the favourite sayings of the educated elite - "we speak better (English, French, Spanish etc.) than our European or North American counterpart" is usually more than a cliché. More often than not such sayings are nothing more than the intensification of an inferiority complex which the most educated of the society must forever struggle with.

Perhaps it can be argued that the West Indian immigrant in the Canadian context, has no greater language and adjustment problems than other similar groups (e.g. Germans, Italians, or even the dock worker from Liverpool.) They all, it may be argued, speak dialects that are not only different from mainstream Canadians but are sometimes quite bizarre. As convincing as this might be, there is need to point out that the German, Italian or English immigrant has a less difficult path to integration and/or assimilation. He has not been "civilized by the white man", therefore he does not have a history of feeling inferior because of his racial origins, hence his adjustment cannot be equated with that of any colonized third world element in the society.



In fact even with his less than adequate command of English such an immigrant "acts as if he knows" that, by virtue of his origins, he is not only more acceptable by the society in general, but is also thought of as superior to his West Indian or third world counterpart. In fact he is also very vocal in the debate on immigration and he does not see himself as the "immigrant" precisely because he cannot perceive of any "novel and distinctive features" in himself. If he listened to himself some more he too would find distinctive features in one of the most important areas of his being - his language.

The pressures of all the social and psychological factors inherent in the Canadian society place the language problem of third world immigrants as only one of the dimensions of their total problem in their new environment.

Therefore the efforts of developing programs of enculturation (as proposed by the Federal government) must be more than mere token services. They must be done in earnest and must draw on the expertise of people in various disciplines including education, psychology, sociology and linguistics.



## CHAPTER 4

The preceeding chapters of this thesis have attempted to discuss the interrelation and significance of language to all areas of human development. To this end the Jamaican immigrant was seen as a case in point. In order to give relevance to the theoretical framework and also to contribute to the process of further development and research, there is need to give a description of the language behavior of this particular group.

### Method of Research

#### Subjects

For the purposes of this study a group of ten Jamaican female immigrants who have been away from their homeland for varying periods of time (2-17 years) were used to produce speech samples. In order to control, to some extent, for level of education, the subjects were selected from a group who migrated to Canada to work in the capacity of housekeepers and maids for families in the Edmonton, Alberta area. This fact is an indication not only of their level of education (usually not more than six years of elementary education) but of the nature of the language, which they had mastered prior to leaving Jamaica - a country in which the ability to develop competence in Standard English is a pre-requisite for any degree of formal education beyond





the elementary level.

The first language of all these subjects fits into Cazden's (1972) definition of creoles - distinct languages with a largely English vocabulary, not readily intelligible to speakers of Standard English.

### The Socio-cultural Setting of the Subjects

The contact situation between any two groups of people is important to the type of language retained or adapted by any one of the groups. In the case of the subjects being studied there will be a conscious effort to absorb the Canadian dialect. This need is a manifestation of both the psychological and practical demands of the language learning situation. The psychological aspect can be accounted for by the arguments discussed in Chapter three. They linked the total developmental process with the resultant personality as it is reflected in the linguistic system. The practical aspect arises from the fact that most of the subjects came to Canada to work with families and would therefore have to be able to communicate with the members of these families.

Because all these families were fairly well-to-do middle class ones, the subjects would have been exposed to a fair approximation of the Standard Canadian dialect (as far as syntactic structures are concerned). The important question therefore concerns the extent to which this dialect has been acquired and the possible strategies and



methods used in the learning thereof.

The type of immigrants involved would spend most of their time within the home situation, thus their contact with others of their countrymen would be restricted to the "days off the job" and on Sundays. Therefore they are forced by circumstances to attempt to speak Standard English. In spite of this their first language will continue to influence their way of speaking and of thinking for a very long time to come.

The Jamaican (and by extension the West Indian) as opposed to the typical European immigrant, maintains a certain continuity with his island home. He does not make a decisive break psychologically (even though he might never return). He has for the most part migrated because of economic pressures. He has come to Canada to make more money - thus to make a better way of life. After he has achieved this he intends to return, and be quite well established. He is desirous of returning to display a lifestyle that had evaded his ancestors for generations. The language acquired would be a useful trapping for such a life-style. Thus these subjects are viewed as being highly motivated to learn the Canadian dialect both from the point of view of getting on in their jobs and also from the more deeply seated desire to gain the necessary equipment for the "return".

Although these subjects were for the greater part of





their Canadian experience resident in such settings, it cannot be assumed that they will effectively learn the Canadian dialect. Living in the same neighbourhood or home does not necessarily imply meaningful contact. It has already been pointed out that their first language developed in a situation where languages came together in close physical circumstances but at the same time maintained vast psychological distance. There is not much ground on which to suggest that the mentality that operated in their "slavery" past is not also at work in the "housekeeping" present.

#### Procedure

The subjects cannot be seen as randomly chosen. Preliminary investigations determined their selection. Each subject was contacted by phone and was told about the study (the purpose, method of sample collection, and the anonymity of each person). An appointment was then made and each subject was visited at the time specified.

Before going into the actual taping of the speech I endeavoured to establish a more or less relaxed atmosphere by talking about topics not related to the interview. When some degree of confidence and relaxation was achieved, the purpose of the study was once more explained and the taping equipment set up. Because the interview was geared towards getting spontaneous and honest conversation I decided to use a topic of discussion that would be common to all subjects, namely, their first experiences in their



new country (first job, first impressions, reactions etc.) This strategy proved to be quite rewarding in that it triggered conversation that was free, relaxed and extremely informative.

### Instruments of Analysis

In order to assess features that are part of the structure of the linguistic system produced by the contact between the Jamaican Creole and Standard English, it is necessary to know the structures that are peculiar to the speakers first language. To this end, Cassidy (1961) and Bailey (1966) have provided a basis for the identification of the unique structures of the Jamaican Creole. Bailey proposes that this Creole has a syntax which "represents the mixing of two related syntactic types - one English, the other some kind of Proto-creole - and the lexicon is predominantly English" (Bailey, 1966, p. 1). Cassidy supports this when he suggests that "the most striking differences between the folk speech of Jamaica (Creole) and the educated speech (Standard English) are not in the sounds, still less in the vocabulary; they are in the grammar, the functional patterns into which the words fall ... and that is why Jamaican folk speech is not a dialect in the same sense that the rural speech of Devonshire or Lancashire, say, are dialects of English" (Cassidy, 1961). Cassidy further points out that the grammatical pattern is the strongest support for those who maintain that



Jamaican Creole is not a non-standard English dialect, but is in fact a different language.

These arguments justify an analysis of the syntactic component of the language being studied. It is assumed that whatever fossilized forms are found would be related to the first language rather than to the target, especially if such forms contrast with any that are usually found in the target. This assumption is based on the fact that a conscious effort is being made to learn the target language. A concentration on the syntactic component does not imply a lack of awareness of the relevance and importance of others - especially the phonological. Powesland and Giles (1975) have demonstrated the importance of the phonological component of the linguistic system. They did this by assessing the effect of speaker's accent on listener's responses. Their results demonstrated that accent influences judgements made about a speaker and his message and provides empirical support for the hypothesis that accent-message incompatibility has a persuasive function.

Along with this awareness of the importance of the phonological component is also an awareness of the complex nature of the semantic component. It is clearly understood that situations, words, gestures and contexts may have different meanings for different individuals depending on their unique experiences. No two people have the same reality. Each enters any situation with a uniquely indi-





vidualistic and personal set, and interprets the situation with the accumulated knowledge of his own unique history. Thus important information in the texts might be overlooked or misinterpreted. For this reason the syntactic component (as opposed to the semantic) lends itself to a more objective analysis.

In order to isolate and contrast these syntactic units, an English Mini-Grammar and an expanded version of the same (Appendix B) were used. The rules of this grammar are applied to the words and phrases that do not follow the rules of the Standard dialect. The results of this is also a means of contrasting the retained creole structures with the English structures. In other words the rules that are applied in both cases can be easily determined and the main differences clearly marked. The degree of difference can be a useful indication of the areas that need the greatest emphasis in programs designed for such subjects. To this end the expanded grammar (Appendix B) will serve as the basis for the application of rules. This method is considered useful in the isolation of fossilizations (Selinker, 1969). "Fossilizable linguistic phenomena are linguistic items, rules, and subsystems which speakers of a particular NL (native language) will tend to keep in their interlanguage relative to a particular TL (target language) ... such fossilizable structures are the well-known 'errors'" (Selinker, 1969, p. 215).

This method of isolating fossilizations is an analytical



one for looking at the corpus. It has psychological basis in that for a limited corpus, it is capable of giving the facsimile of what the speakers produce. However the psychological validity of the grammatical rules is an open question.

It should also be pointed out that the grammar used is a very limited one aimed at looking specifically at the verb system. Hence it lacks some of the important categories that would be included in a more comprehensive grammar. For instance, a lexicon has been omitted because it would merely be superfluous, and also because writing a grammar for the whole corpus would be quite complex and not particularly rewarding.





## CHAPTER 5

### Interpretations and Recommendations

The relevant findings in this study can be analysed on two levels - the linguistic and the psychological.<sup>1</sup> The former is reflected in the results shown in Table 1 where 61 out of 92 fossilized forms (45%) are related to the syntactic component of the speakers' language. The main problem areas is that of the verb structure - more specifically of the past tense form. An explanation for this problem area can be found in Cassidy's (1961) discussion of the verb system in the Jamaican creole. He maintains that the verb has a single form sometimes taken from Standard English present or infinitive and sometimes from the past tense form. The absence of verb inflections forces the expression of time differences to depend on other factors e.g. the use of auxiliaries emphatic particles and adverbs of time. Along with the fossilizations of verb forms are also what is described as phrasal lexical fossilizations (25%) and lexical fossilizations (approximately 20%). The types refer to departures from the norm within single lexical items and phrases. They are considered important because they demonstrate both the strategies that the learners use in their handling of the language and also the areas that need attention in programs designed to correct such language patterns. Such an insufficient

1. The writer is aware of the difficulty created by the use of the word psychological in this context. However it is used to demonstrate an understanding of the kinds of issues that are revealed through the linguistic system.



corpus does not render the investigation of the internal structure of these phrases a rewarding activity. It should be noted that the total fossilizations described merely form a subset of a subset of "fossilized forms".

On the psychological level a study of this nature is capable of concealing more than it reveals, precisely because it is more of a social commentary than it is a measure of linguistic competence and achievement. This statement is based on the realization that a full appreciation of what the texts contain necessitates more than a surface appreciation of the subjects historical and linguistic development. One needs to understand that many of the experiences revealed by the informants do not stand in isolation but have an almost "psychic" link with the scenario acted out on the historical stages on which their ancestors played. The experiences of the informant, who along with six others waited to be selected by their employers (See Appendix A, Text 10) is a case in point. On the physical level the conditions have changed. The slave ships of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have been replaced by twentieth century jets. Edmonton International Airport is far removed from the squalid docks of Kingston harbour and the bidding ladies do not appear to be as fierce or as inhuman as the plantation owners of the past.

On the psychological level I am making the case that





NOTHING has really changed. Their destination (the split level homes of suburban Edmonton) represent in a genuine way the great houses of the sugar plantations. Like the earlier abode the maids are relegated to the "slave quarters" (the room without windows described in Appendix A, Text 4.

The human dimension, though modified contain the same ingredients (white masters, wealthy and controlling power vs. black servants, poor and in a subservient position). The only difference is that these immigrants have "willingly" come to Canada while their ancestors were forcibly brought to the New World. However it can be argued that they too came not entirely without some amount of pressure. Such pressure is exerted by their home society whose economy offered them no means of bettering their impoverished lot. Ironically they opted to seek a better life in the countries which have exploited and helped to fashion the way of life from which they tried to escape.

Another area in which there is a parallel is that of language. It can be argued that the resultant language type will not be the creole that resulted from the slavery experience. This is so because in the present situation the dominated group is much too small to develop any kind of marked subculture that is necessary for such language development. However the communication between employer and employees will, of necessity be so limited that if





cannot be viewed as representing adequate language learning exposure ( See Socio-cultural Setting of the Subjects).

This is evidenced in the fossilizations which are listed in Table 1 and also in the content of the texts.

Reflected in this language are the subjects perception of the total social environment. Such perception results from an accumulation of experiences shared verbally and intuitively. This can be seen in Text 8, Appendix A. When the subject was asked by the immigration officer if she intended to further her education she promptly denied such intent. Instead she told him that she would stick to housekeeping jobs. She assumed that such an answer would be the one that the officer would find more palatable. His granting her landed immigrant status served to reinforce her perception of the situation.

On the basis of this it can be deduced that the non-white immigrant "knows" what role he is expected to fill in the Canadian society. His overt and covert resistance to such a situation will offer a challenge for attitudinal changes in the Canadian society.

Against this background the following are considered necessary steps toward better human relations in Canada.

1. There should be well co-ordinated language and acculturation programs offered to immigrants through the Department of Manpower and Immigration.

2. Such programs should be more than the present



"English for New Canadians". They should be so structured and at the same time so flexible that they could cater to the needs of any particular cultural and linguistic group. That is to say wherever there is a sufficient number of immigrants from any particular culture in any particular place, then such a group should have a program that is built around its linguistic and social needs.

3. Acculturation and integration are processes which should not be left to chance. It is not enough to give lip service to these concepts. Both levels of government should make a concerted effort to recognize that the problems of the immigrant are to a large extent due to the negative attitudes of the wider society.

4. In the area of research, more in depth language studies should be funded and encouraged.

The present study is merely an introduction to the kinds of issues that can be investigated. Future studies could endeavour to measure the process of acculturation (perhaps using a semantic differential test) and see if this is related to the degree of language change. It would also be useful to compare the subjects with their Canadian counterparts by collecting a similar corpus and comparing the numbers and types of fossilized forms in both.

#### Summary

Language, the supreme symbol system, is indeed magical





in the way it affects the minds of its users. Even if one does not adhere to a strong "linguistic deterministic" point of view, one is nonetheless forced to see the integral bond that exists between language and thought and also between language and culture.

With this in mind it behoves us to study the process of language acquisition not as an isolated entity but as an integral part of the process involving the interactions of all the possible social, linguistic and psychological variables. It is also our responsibility to be aware of the fact that the labels which we use in the description of the process is an indication of our attitudes and belief system; also we should realize that such labels set the pace for many of the educational practices in society at large.



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## APPENDICES





APPENDIX A

Text 1

Question: When did you come to Canada?

Answer: I came in 1967. In August '67. I came by plane of course. Air Canada! I left home on a Satiday (Saturday). Yeh! Satiday afternoon and I got here Sunday.

Question: What did you think of Canada?

Answer: Well at first it was kinda different like. You know! From home, but it was nice. I liked it at first.

Question: What things were different?

Answer: In a way - the streets were. The streets! Because I came to my cousin and his wife. You remember Vivian? and I stayed with them for quite a while and he had to show me around. He take me out and show me - you know - how to get around by buses and so - you know.

Question: What did you like most about Canada?

Answer: Well I liked my job.

Question: How did you go about getting your first job?

Answer: Well when I came here first I started at the garment factory Reynolds' Garments. I work there about seven weeks and then I seen this one where I am at now, advertised in the Journal. So my cousin and myself - you know - we go together, and made the application an' I was surprise they phone me say to come for an interview and I went for



the interview. So when I went well I was a little bit shy - you know - but then - after about maybe two weeks after I got a letter. So when I got this letter he said to me - my cousin - he said to me "O Winnie, you get the job" so I say "No, I'm not that lucky", so I said "You open the letter" - you know - because I was nervous - you know and then he opened it, and then he said "Yes, you get the job" so I got the job! an' I started an' I'm there. I started in October of '68, no, I beg your pardon - '67 an' I am there till now.

Question: Do you really enjoy the job?

Answer: O yeah! I like it. At first when I started I was working in the dinin' room wait'n on tables, - you know and after they had a vacance in the childcare - attendant - you know - you work more with kids. So I applied an' I got it an' I'm there till now.

## Text 2

Question: What happened after you went to your first employer?

Answer: Oh yeah. Her name was Mrs Superstein an' she was fairly nice - you know - she wasn't too bad but the only problem is that she decided to drop her whole household on my shoulder - you know. Like she had three children and she would get up in the morning and she would have a cup of coffee and she would take off - you know! and I wouldn't





see her again until supper time and I had to - you know - cook, wash, do everything and you realize that in Jamaica I wasn't accustomed to all that. Although I knew what to do - you know - but I never use to do that - you know. So much work! One person doing so much things and looking after the children. You know - I had to give them the bath at night, feed them - you know. The last one wasn't even trained and I had to train him - you know - and then, she found out that I could cook. So then she would go away and she would - especially on a Friday - and she would phone at about 2 o'clock in the afternoon and she would say "Elsa I am bringing home three people to dinner, would you make something nice?" She never plan no meal nor anything - you know - and she would just come home in time to sit.

Question: Was she married?

Answer: Yeah! She was married, she had three children. And she and her husband - you know - they would only come and sit down and ready to eat, and I had to plan the meal and cook it, and everything - you know. So anyway I stuck it out for a year, like I work with her for a year, then I started to get sick and everytime, but it was just mostly homesick I think - you know. So I told - I went to see the doctor - and he keep putting me on tranquillizer and all kinds a things, but I didn't feel better, and then finally he said he think I should go home for a holiday



and maybe if I get home I would get it out a my system. So I decided - you know - I was there and - like I didn't have any responsibility in Jamaica because my mother and father was dead, didn't have anybody that I had to support or anything, so all the money that I worked was just mine and - you know- I was working in Jamica already, so I had money - you know. So one night - I went to bed and a was in bed aready and all of a sudden I got the bright idea that I was to go home and I got up in the middle of the night and go upstairs and knock on the bedroom door - "Mrs Superstein am going home". She was so frightened and scared she say "What Elsa!" I said "Yes am going home". She say, "Are you going to come back?" I said "I am not sure". Anyway she say "Can't you wait until tomorrow and we talk about it?" I say "No I want to talk about it now". So she say, "Come on in" - and her husband - and we started to talk an' I say "I have to go home," and she say, "Well please Elsa if you will come back, I promise you, I'll give you the pay to go - like a paid holiday - like", and if you promise to come back. O she talk and talk until finally I say "OK I'll come back, but I just have to go - you know. And so the next morning she got up and she phoned and made the arrangement and by the end of the week I got whatever - I went to Jamaica an' you know - it was funny - I went back - it was a little bit over a year that I had been away an' I went back and it seems as if all a



my friends were all taken up with something else and nobody had anytime for me anymore - you know - or they were all busy with their jobs and so - you know - and so I felt kinda lonely - you know - but anyway that was when I got to know my husband.

### Text 3

Question: What kind of social life did you have when you first came to Canada?

Answer: Five girls use to get together every Thursdays because we used to get half day Thursday off and every second Sunday. So when we got - we used to go to the Y and the people at the Y they were so good to us - you know - an' there was like there was two girls that was Roman Catholic, there was one that was a Seven Day Adventist and there was myself - a Pentecostal and the other girl - I don't know what she was really - she wasn't anything special, but anyway those people, they got in touch with two nuns from the Roman Catholic, they got in touch with a lady by the name of Mrs Chaney - she was - they used to go to this Shiloh Baptist Church and they got in touch with a Mrs McAfie - she was from the Seven Day Adventist - you know, and they had a tea and they introduce us to all these people so that we could get to go if we wanted to - you know - to go to our own church that we want to go to. And they were really nice and every Sunday - the Sundays that we were off, like we arrange it so that all





five of us would be off at the same time - you know. And when we get half week day we used to get more invitation to dinners and lunches and we go to the Y for tea and - O we were really treated like royalty. Everybody - but it was really funny because we would go down Jasper Avenue - all five of us, and you know how Jamaicans can laugh - you know. And we would be chatting away and away and laughing and then everybody would be passing and they would be stopping to look at us - you know - They must be think we were crazy - you know - but then I never see any - it took me almost four months in Edmonton before I knew that they had other coloured people here - I just didn' see any, none! you know - an' I think the people here wasn't accustomed to Negroes either because everytime we would go down town people would stand up and turn around to look at us - you know. They would stare - you know - and I was very rude - you know - I use to stick out my tongue at them when they stare at me. An' I remember I went into a store once, I t'ink it was the Bay, in the "Groceriteria" - you know - and there was this woman - we were in line - and there was this woman that was just ahead of me and I noticed she kept pulling and pulling away. Everytime I would go up she would pull away and at first I really didn't pay it too much mind, then finally I realize that it was me she was pulling away from - you know - she didn' want me to touch her and O boy! I saw red - you know - because - you



know - in Jamaica we don't have nothing like prejudice - so therefore I never come up across it - you know. We read about it but it only come in to me like it was a fairy tale - you know - because I think that I am as good or even better than many - you know - so anyway when this woman started to pull away I keep pulling up to her. More an' more she would pull the more I would pull up to her - you know - until finally when she got to the place where she couldn't move anymore I went up to her an' a say "Hi lady, you see dis colour here it dont rub off you know. It is permanent". Was she ever embarrass. She turned so red - you know. Then there was lots a other people around and everybody was looking.

#### Text 4

I came to Canada on the 19th of December, 1970. I left Jamaica at 4.30 and reach Toronto at 9.45. It was so cold I really couldn't believe it. It was like I was coming out of - going into some hicc box or something. I didn't like it at the first night. I said "O my God I should go back home". Anyhow I left for Edmonton the next mornin' and I came to Edmonton airport and I was so cold - anyhow they brought me a shoe and a coat so "Where were they going with that long thing for me to put on - and that boots?" So I said I didn't want any boots to put on. They said "No you have to put the boots on else you cant walk in the snow. When I came outside I see this big white thing.





The first experience of seeing snow. Anyhow they drove me home and they took me down to my room. I say "O my God, can a person live in a place like this?" It had no window.

Question: Have you never seen a basement before?

Answer: I have never seen a house without a window from I was born. I couldn't sleep the night I just kept my eye wide open, looking, looking, looking. I got up the mornin' an' I came upstairs. They were very nice to me an' I met the children an' that was my firs' job.

They were nice people. The kids were rude. They were different from hour kids.

Question: Why do you think they were different?

Answer: Because you cant speak to them. Maybe because I was black or what - I didn't know. On one occasion one of the little boy said to me "Pearl you want to bathe?" I said "Why you say that?" He said, "Because your skin is dirty." I said, "No my skin isn't dirty, that's my color". He said, "No look at mine". I said "Yes, this is my colour. I am a West Indies." He said to me, "No! go wash your hands." I wash my hands and I showed him. He said, "O that's how you are?" I say "Yes, that's how I am and that's how I'll always be." He went away.

And I started to work an' the times were nice, but the kids were different. On one occasion, about three months after I were there, the little boy came in an' he



said to me "You are a slave." I said, "No why did you say that?" He said, "Black people are slaves." I said, "No." When his mother came in I told her and she called him. She say, "Pearl isn't a slave, who told you that?" He said "One of my friend told me that you are a slave," and his mother told him "No she isn't a slave, you don't pay slaves. We are payin' her." And I was there, I cried day and night. I wanted to go home, I wanted to go home.

Question: What did you miss most about Jamaica?

Answer: I missed how I could open my door, sit on my verandah. I didn't have to enclose myself. Lockin' the doors. Can't open the door. The cold air comin' in. I could walk houtside with slippers on. I didn't have to have so much clothes on, or anything like that. I didn't like the food here.

Question: What didn't you like about the food?

Answer: Because the food was different. The meat taste different. Everything was quite different. They didn't cook like how I cook at home. I had a hard time eating at first. Until after I started to get to buy the things that I need. For they didn't know the things that I heat. When I told them about it, they didn't know what I call, so I started going hout. They took me hout and I started to buy my own food that I like and cook. There I was, I still wasn't comfortable for there was no window in the



house.

Text 5

Question: Tell me about your first trip.

Answer: Well, I leave Jamaica on the 15th of August and arrive in Canada - well - the 15th - and - I worked with a couple - Mr and Mrs Chabeleau - and - I find them to be OK and - well I came in the summer of course. It wasn't that cold but I find the wind a bit chilly - and by experience of the winta - I still wouldn't complain 'cause of courst I was mostly kept in door unless I wanted was to be out - you - know - At times- and well I find the food much different from our Jamaican style but of courst I adjus' myself to the situation. I never make it be a bother.

Question: Did your employers have children?

Answer: They had three kids.

Question: How did you find the children?

Answer: Well - fine - you know - kids are - on the contrary - a bit rude but their parents - you know brought them up OK so I think they were good behave children so far.

Question: How old were they?

Answer: One was six, the other around seven and a half, and the other ten.

Question: How many boys were there?

Answer: One boy and two girls. So I didn't find any fault





with the kids - you know - to that. Well - my experience of the winter - I find the climate colder than Jamaica of courst, and I think that was a good experience.

Question: Well, did you like Canada?

Answer: Well - but not as Jamaica. Number one the climate is different and you have got more privilege and more entertainment and such like.

So far - Canada isn't that bad.

#### Text 6

Question: When did you come to Canada?

Answer: I came up on September - I could remember September the 17th.

Question: Which year?

Answer: '63 and at first - you know when I was coming on the plane - I leave Montego Bay - you know - just as we reach over - like - over the water, as though we were going to Falmouth. I feel when the plane go down you know - and everything that was on top of the - over the seats. Everything was on the floor. So there was another guy - you know - we go to school together and he look at me - you know - an' here I am, I says to him "O my god, that's it." Everybody was laughing - you know - and when they were laughing - you know - I says well if they are laughing might as well I calm down. So it was quite a nice trip, but you know its one thing when the plane go



down - you know - that - you feel as if your stomach was coming up. Anyhow when I reach Toronto I didn't know that Edmonton was so far. So my brother was suppose to meet me at the airport. So when everybody came off now I were looking, looking, looking, looking at the airport - you know - outside to see if I see my brother. I didn't see anybody so when I went inside - you know - on the airport - they told me that I will be leaving tomorrow morning. So I said "What! don't I reach yet?" They says "No. Edmonton is away off here, so tomorrow morning." So anyways - tomorrow I didn't sleep at all. I was sitting on those benches down there, so those other guys were snoring like crazy here I am sitting up looking until daylight. So when I reach - when we ready to come now - you know - so we stop in Winnipeg, so when I reach here in Edmonton, I was asking what day it is because I go through so many daylights and night that I didn't know what day it was.

But anyway when I came here - it was - I really like it - you know - and I start work couple days after but - if I ever lonely! O boy! everytime I am on the phone phoning - you know. So the first day I am going to get out on my own - I phone my brother and he was giving me the direction and I said, "I dont know so you better come and pick me up." So he came and pick me up. So one day in the winter now - that's my first cold day I ever experience. I came out - it was a Thursday - I usually get Thursdays off. So I was coming down the street now -





see the bus stop at the bus stop! So I run to catch the bus. It was really cold, and my feet they start to get criss so my godman when I reach the bus the bus drive off, so I hit the bus and the man not even look at me. I said to myself "Lord, what have I done?" But anyways I happen to stand up there till another bus came along. But otherwise - you know - I try to climatize to the weather anyways.

### Text 7

Question: What do you think of Canadians?

Answer: I fin' Canadian people relly nice. I haven't find any fault since I came to this country, and girl if I tell you that - this country is the beginning of my life - believe it or not. These people that I worked for first were Jewish, and they were kind to me, but it was too much work. I never work like that in all my life.

Question: Did they have many children?

Answer: They have only three kids.

Question: Did they entertain a lot?

Answer: Well, as a matter of fact, they usually go out every night almost then I have to babysit - you know - and the kids, they were out of order like - you know - but the first one was nice, the second one - o boy! was she ever rude! So one evening now when she left - this little girl almost burn down the house. She lit a piece of paper - I was watching, we all were watching TV, and this little



girl lit the piece of paper and - the table - you know - they have tablecloth on their table, and My God! when I looked the tablecloth were burning, And I said "Marlene what are you doing?" And I had to run to out the fire. Luckily I was near by, so I says to her mom when she came. I said, "You know what I think I am going to leave this place because I think if I don't leave here, I have to answer too many question with the police if this little girl don't behave better. So she were telling me that she is trying to talk to her - and things like that. But I leave her and I went to another lady and it was the easiest job I ever had in all my life. And then after I was there working with her - I was with this lady for about five years until I got marry.

#### Text 8

Question: When did you come to Canada?

Answer: Well I came here in 1970. It was May the 23rd and I came to work with some people with four kids the name of Pigins. So I was gettin' 80 dollars a mont' and I had to get food an' everyt'ing but I never had my perminent stay that time so I had to stay there for one year before I could leave. So I got my perminent and I took out an' my secon' job was wit' the Welfare babysittin' and that wasn't bad an' den a went to the hopital an' get a job an' after the hospital I work at the Chateau Lacombe. That was good! - you know - an' then a went and a work with I.T.T.



telephone company an' then after - right now I am working with Superior Continental, which is a place that made repeater cases and stuff for A.G.T.

Question: Do you like it there?

Answer: O yeah, its a betta job.

Question: Do they pay better wages?

Answer: Yeah - they pay betta.

Question: Did you like Canada when you first arrived?

Answer: O Well! I like it because I came almost in di summer but when it come the first winter it was cold - and that was the time I got my perminent an' I was having a chat with the immigration officer and he ask me "You tink you will like it?" an' I said "yes" and he said "O look outside its cold" and I said "Yes I know." An then he went on asking about if I would like to further my edication an' so but really of a fact - I had that intention but I never told him that because I stick to housework with him because I did want to stay in the country, so instead a telling him this - that I just tell him "No" - you know, and he said "OK" and he gave me the paper for medical.

#### Text 9

Question: When did you come to Canada?

Answer: The 13th December, 1974.

Question: Why did you come?

Answer: Well, I came up on a year permit.





Question: Did you find a job?

Answer: Yeah! I got a job. I got the letter before I left Jamaica.

Question: Are you still at the same place?

Answer: Yeah.

Question: How do you like it?

Answer: Well I like it, you know, but I would like to change it. That's why I am going to school now. I am taking key punch.

Question: What do you miss most about Jamaica?

Answer: Lots, my friends and everything.

#### Text 10

Question: Of all your experiences in Canada which single event stands out most in your mind?

Answer: I will never forget the time when we - all seven girls of us was coming from Jamaica, and we came to Edmonton International Airport - you know. We didn't know who we was suppose to work with. So we see these seven ladies and they all stand around and then they just start grabbing. One say "I will take this one" and they all select one of us. Then we all went into the cars and take off for Edmonton. Was I ever scared. I feel homesick right away.



## APPENDIX B

English Mini-GrammarBase Component

Given: S

## Phrase Structure Rules -

1.  $S \longrightarrow NP + VP$
2.  $VP \longrightarrow AUX + MV$
3.  $MV \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} be + PRED \\ V_i \quad (PP) \\ V_t + NP \\ V_c + A \end{array} \right\}$
4.  $AUX \longrightarrow T (M) (ASP)$
5.  $ASP \longrightarrow (\underline{have} + EN) (\underline{be} + ING)$
6.  $PRED \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} NP \\ PP \\ A \end{array} \right\}$
7.  $PP \longrightarrow P + NP$
8.  $NP \longrightarrow D + N + N^O$
9.  $N^O \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} SG \\ PL \end{array} \right\}$
10.  $T \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} PAST \\ PRES \end{array} \right\}$





# Transformations

## T1. Subject-Verb Agreement

SD:	N	$\begin{bmatrix} \text{SG} \\ \text{PL} \end{bmatrix}$	PRES	
SC:	1	2	3	$\longrightarrow$
	1	2	$\begin{bmatrix} \text{Z}_1 \\ \emptyset_1 \end{bmatrix}$	

## T2. Past Tense of be

SD:	N	$\begin{bmatrix} \text{SG} \\ \text{PL} \end{bmatrix}$	PAST	<u>be</u>	
SC:	1	2	3	4	$\longrightarrow$
	1	2	$\begin{bmatrix} \text{Z}_4 \\ \emptyset_4 \end{bmatrix}$	4	

## T3. Modal Adjustment

SD:	M	$\text{Z}_1$	$\longrightarrow$
SC:	1	2	$\longrightarrow$
	1	null	

# Morphophonemic Rules

## P1.

<u>be</u>	$\begin{bmatrix} \text{Z}_1 \\ \emptyset_1 \\ \text{Z}_4 \\ \emptyset_4 \\ \text{EN} \end{bmatrix}$	$\longrightarrow$	$\begin{bmatrix} \text{is} \\ \text{are} \\ \text{was} \\ \text{were} \\ \text{been} \end{bmatrix}$
-----------	---	-------------------	---



P2.  $\begin{bmatrix} \text{may} \\ \text{can} \\ \text{will} \\ \text{shall} \\ \text{must} \end{bmatrix} \xrightarrow{\text{PAST}} \begin{bmatrix} \text{might} \\ \text{could} \\ \text{would} \\ \text{should} \\ \text{must} \end{bmatrix}$

P3.  $\begin{matrix} \text{have} \\ \begin{bmatrix} Z_1 \\ O_1 \\ \{ \text{EN} \\ \text{PAST} \} \end{bmatrix} \end{matrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{has} \\ \text{have} \\ \text{had} \end{bmatrix}$

P4.  $\begin{bmatrix} \text{EN} \\ \text{PAST} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \underline{d}$

P5.  $\begin{bmatrix} Z_1 \\ \text{PL} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \underline{Z}$

P6.  $\begin{bmatrix} \emptyset_1 \\ \text{SG} \\ \emptyset_d \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \text{null}$

### Symbols

$\longrightarrow$  = "is rewritten as"

$\emptyset$  = a zero element

(optional item)

SD = "structural description"

{choose one only}

SC = "structural change"

$\begin{bmatrix} a \\ b \\ c \\ d \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} 1 \\ 2 \\ 3 \\ 4 \end{bmatrix}$  Choose a corresponding item (i.e. one at the same height)



# Expanded Grammar

## Phrase Structure Rules

1. S  $\longrightarrow$  NP + VP
2. VP  $\longrightarrow$  AUX + MV
3. MV  $\longrightarrow$  be + Pred
4. MV  $\longrightarrow$  Vi
5. MV  $\longrightarrow$  Vt + NP
6. MV  $\longrightarrow$  Vc + A
7. AUX  $\longrightarrow$  T
8. AUX  $\longrightarrow$  T + M
9. AUX  $\longrightarrow$  T + ASP
10. AUX  $\longrightarrow$  T + M + ASP
11. ASP  $\longrightarrow$  have + EN
12. ASP  $\longrightarrow$  be + ING
13. NP  $\longrightarrow$  D + N + N<sup>o</sup>
14. N<sup>o</sup>  $\longrightarrow$  SG
15. N<sup>o</sup>  $\longrightarrow$  PL
16. T  $\longrightarrow$  PAST
17. T  $\longrightarrow$  PRES
18. Lexical
19. Phrasal lexical





TABLE 1

Syntactic Fossilizations

Fossilizations	Creole	Canadian Dialect
take (V)	5, 7, 17	5, 7, 16
work (V)	4, 7, 17	4, 7, 16
go (V)	4, 7, 17	4, 7, 16
phone (V)	5, 7, 17	5, 7, 16
get (V)	5, 7, 17	5, 7, 16
say (V)	5, 7, 17	5, 7, 16
shoulder (N)	14	15
keep (V)	5, 7, 17	5, 7, 16
think (V)	5, 7, 17	5, 7, 16
was (V)	14	15
knock (V)	6, 7, 17	6, 7, 16
Thursdays (N)	15	14
introduce (V)	5, 7, 17	5, 7, 16
arrange (V)	5, 7, 17	5, 7, 16
stare (V)	4, 7, 17	4, 7, 16
realize (V)	5, 7, 17	5, 7, 16
don't (V)	15	14
embarrass (V)	4, 7, 17	4, 7, 16
was (V)	17	16
reach (V)		
see (V)	5, 7, 17	5, 7, 16
eye (N)	14	15
boy (N)	14	15
wash (V)	5, 7, 17	5, 7, 16
were (V)	15	14
friend (N)	14	15
taste (V)	5, 7, 17	5, 7, 16
cook (V)	5, 7, 17	5, 7, 16
need (V)	5, 7, 17	5, 7, 16
find (V)	5, 7, 17	5, 7, 16
leave (V)	5, 7, 17	5, 7, 16
look (V)	4, 7, 17	4, 7, 16
feel (V)	5, 7, 17	5, 7, 16
stop (V)	4, 7, 17	4, 7, 16
night (N)	14	15
start (V)	5, 7, 17	5, 7, 16
<u>am</u> going (V)	17	16
pick (V)	5, 7, 17	5, 7, 16
drive (V)	4, 7, 17	4, 7, 16
try (V)	5, 7, 17	5, 7, 16
burn (V)	5, 7, 17	5, 7, 16
question (N)	14	15
marry (V)	4, 7, 17	4, 7, 16



Fossilizations	Creole	Canadian Dialect
like (V)	5, 7, 17	5, 7, 16
ask (V)	5, 7, 17	5, 7, 16
stick (V)	5, 7, 17	5, 7, 16
stand (V)	4, 7, 17	4, 7, 16
select (V)	5, 7, 17	5, 7, 16

The numbers refer to the rules of the Expanded Grammar that are applied to arrive at the verb form.

### Phrasal Lexical Fossilizations

kinda different like

say to come

never plan no meal

half week day

must be think

pay it too much mind

come in to me like

lots a

that boots

from I was born

got up the morning

you can't speak to them

wanted was to

make it be

such like

have got

might as well

don't I reach yet

we A ready





not even look  
happen to stand  
really of a fact  
did want

### Lexical Fossilizations

seen - nonstandard in target dialect  
till - creole form  
vacance - lexical overgeneralization  
use - creole form  
much - creole form  
aready - creole form  
seems - creole form  
a - used in place of "I" (creole form)  
else - creole form  
hour - creole form  
West Indies - lexical overgeneralization  
houtside - creole form  
hout - creole form  
says (sez) - nonstandard in target dialect  
on the contrary - lexical overgeneralization  
good behave - lexical overgeneralization  
as (use in place of 'like') - creole form  
criss (crisp) - creole form  
anyways - overgeneralization of syntactic rule  
climatize - lexical overgeneralization  
year - (lack of possissive marker) - creole form

















**B30159**